1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

However, since the organization, as the official agent in the rural area for the provincial Food Bureau, must perform a number of unpleasant tasks such as the collection of rice and loans, this leads to some distrust of the Farmers' Association by the farmer.

The Farmers' Association has three basic functions. The first, and perhaps the most important, of its functions is its extension services. Many of these are performed with the financial and advisory cooperation of the JCRR. The second function is moneylending, which is of two kinds: loans to farmers by the association itself and loans to farmers by the provincial Food Bureau under the management of the association. The third function is performing, for a fee, some of the work of the provincial Food Bureau. The association sells fertilizer to the farmer and collects (handles and/or stores) rice from the farmer to pay for it. It collects rice for the land tax, for the required rice sale to the government, and for the semiannual payments in kind on land purchased from the government under the Land Reform Program.

Extension Services

The extension services offered by local Farmers' Associations vary a great deal from district to district. Because of the extension services it offers, the association in Pu Yen Hsiang is known to be one of the very best on the island. These services include educational instruction, sponsoring of 4-H Clubs, provision of rental farm implements, providing cash subsidies and loans to members to encourage farm improvements and modernization, and sale to members of such items as seed, bean cake, and bicycles below the market price.

The forms of instruction sponsored by the Pu Yen Hsiang Farmers' Association have been varied and apparently successful. Regular sewing classes are held for the daughters of members, and since the classes are free, many village families wish to take advantage of the opportunity. However, the facilities are so limited that when classes are held, each village may send only a small quota based on the number of association members in the village. In Hsin Hsing large numbers of girls wish to attend the classes, and it is the responsibility of the formal village leaders—the mayor, the village representative, and the village Farmers' Association unit head—to select the students. However, usually the village leaders wish to avoid any possible conflict or criticism over their choices, and, although some girls may meet the qualifications set up by the association better than others, straws are drawn to determine which girls will attend. The method all too often sends less qualified girls to the classes, and these often drop out before the course is over. Several Hsin Hsing villagers have complained of the wastefulness of this method of choice, and claim that the village leaders are refusing to assume their full responsibility.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

villagers in premodern Taiwan also had relationships with other villages and areas, it is evident that the recent expansion of agriculture has made the increase in their outside relations both possible and necessary. During a period of drought while I was in the village, I found the villagers both aware and concerned with whether the provincial government would hold the large mountain water resources back in order to generate electric power or would release the water earlier to be used for irrigation.

The effect that irrigation has had on the villagers' outside concerns is no different from the effect on their lives of the recently expanded operations of the Farmers' Association through its facilities and, especially, its improved extension services.

But perhaps one of the most striking changes in the village has been in land utilization—the important switch to vegetable growing, a cash crop, which necessitates a development of interest in marketing. This change in land utilization is very closely related to land tenure problems such as land scarcity and the recent important development of out-migration of villagers to the city. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taiwan AD6
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ants." The Hsin Hsing villagers readily recall that the local Japanese police and officials showed respect only for the well-to-do landlords. Consequently, if the villagers were to get along successfully with the Japanese, they had to work through their landlords. They usually elected a landlord to handle local village affairs and to represent village interests in dealing with the Japanese authorities.

The arrangement was also to the landlord's advantage. As the official leader, he wielded greater power by which he could more easily manipulate the villagers, and even the tax collector, to his own advantage. His recognition as a leader by his fellow villagers and by the authorities also increased his prestige.

Not only was such a landlord the elected village political leader but he might often be an informal leader as well, a person who took an active part in most of the social and religious affairs of the village. He usually contributed money and time to help make these affairs a success. The efforts of the landlord helped to build up his reputation as a public-spirited citizen. Frequently, he assumed the role of mediator in discussions of village and intervillage problems and in disputes between his own villagers or even between members of other villages. When the landlord's efforts as a mediator extended beyond his own village, he enhanced his own reputation in the whole area and that of his village as well.

These conditions continued after the restoration into the post-land reform period. Today, the landlord class continues in the rural area and wields power in local grass roots politics as well as in socioeconomic affairs. In most villages the recognized leaders are still those who are rich, maintain big landholdings, and have had a fairly good education. Such people may also have influence—perhaps by virtue of a relative—in some government agency. It is still a great advantage to a village to have a wealthy representative of the landlord class to deal successfully with authorities. Many, if not most of the government officials, are drawn from this class, since they are educated and usually wealthy.

However, this picture is beginning to change. Village affairs are being profoundly affected as many former large landlords and traditional local leaders transfer their economic interests and activities away from the land to new business interests elsewhere. When a landlord gives up his major economic interests in the area, it is usually not long before village social, religious, and political activities become much less important to him. Because the personal advantage is gone, he is no longer concerned with maintaining his status or leadership role. He may even move his residence out of the village in order to be closer to his new economic interests.

Villages suffering such a loss of local leadership have reacted in two

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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different ways. The first reaction has been apathy—a reluctance to occupy positions of formal village leadership. The other reaction has been for villagers who have more time and money than their fellows and who may aspire to improve their status, to assume formal village leadership.

The first reaction is best evidenced by a new problem in recent village elections, and especially in the 1958 election. In six of the twenty-two villages in Pu Yen Hsiang, there was no candidate for mayor. According to the district officials, the problem in those six villages was that no one was willing to spend the time and money required of the position. Several villagers pointed out that "The office of village mayor must be filled by a person who is not bound to his fields or other work to support his family. He must have an interest in village affairs and enough money to meet the expenses of the traditional functions of the office. He must be able to entertain any public officials or police visiting the village; he must have enough education and social acumen to carry on successfully the necessary relationships with villagers as well as outsiders with whom he is in frequent contact as village head." However, here it may be noted that the office of mayor no longer requires that an individual have a relatively high degree of education and literacy; village records and paper work are now maintained by a minor official from the district Public Office who acts as village secretary.

In other villages, the reaction to the withdrawal of landlords from participation in village affairs has been that other people have attempted to fill the position of mayor, who is general village leader. In some villages, men who have the basic qualifications for the office, as well as a sincere interest in working for the village, have gained the respect of their fellow villagers and have been successful as mayor and village head.

There are also villages—and Hsin Hsing appears to be one of the few in the area—in which the individuals elected to the office of mayor have failed to win respect or acceptance as village leaders. Although they have the qualifications of money and time, and often were the only candidates in the village, their motives are suspect. The man who was mayor of Hsin Hsing during my stay there is perhaps a good example of this. He is a man whom most of the villagers fear but do not respect. They point to his inadequate education—"He knows very few characters!" They say that he has kept more than one wife at a time by taking other men's wives. They feel that he does not really want to work for the village, but only to increase his own power and status. Nevertheless, in spite of all this, he was elected. The main reason he was elected, apparently, is that he has enough time and money to carry out at least the superficial functions of the office, and

i.e. to the withdrawal of economic interest and leadership in the community by the landlord--Analyst

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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village cleavages worked for his advantage, as did his membership in one of the larger village *tsu* groups with a following that worked hard in the election.

In Hsin Hsing, then, although this man bears the official title of mayor, he is not really accepted as village head. Today, Hsin Hsing village, like many other communities, seems to be virtually leaderless. In Hsin Hsing and in some other villages observed, this has led to a state of civic disorganization in meeting many village problems, especially those concerning relations with other villages. (An example of just such a problem will be discussed in Chapter 6.)

The post-land reform period in the rural area shows signs of being one of social as well as economic transition. Although the landlords still form a definite and important class, the changes taking place may mark the beginning of a decline in the almost exclusive leadership of the landlord or gentry class. There are incipient signs of instability in a traditional social system which had grown out of an unequal distribution of rural wealth and income as a result of the land tenure system. The Land Reform Program which has led many landlords to withdraw their interests from the rural villages appears to be leading to some equalization of social status in rural Taiwan, which may in turn enable new village leaders to become effective.

In the past and, to a lesser degree, in the present, there have been capable villagers who had no opportunity to compete with the landlord class for primary village leadership. Now, perhaps for the first time, these people will have some opportunity to manifest their leadership abilities. But many traditional attitudes must be cleared away before such new leaders can gain widespread acceptance. In addition to actual economic equalization, there must be a more complete equalization of social status in the village. There must be a change in the villagers' own attitudes toward leadership and authority, for they have not yet been emancipated from their respect for wealth and power and the use to which these two can be put in the manipulation of people and politics.

Although the accomplishment of change in this attitude toward leadership and authority is still a long way off, it should be noted that respect for a man is not based entirely on his wealth and power. These qualities in themselves are not enough, but must be accompanied by evidence of responsibility toward the village, active participation in village affairs, and at least an outward appearance of "not looking down on less fortunate fellows."

The consequences of village social disorganization are not fully apparent. However, definite signs of such disorganization were seen in the last chapter in the problems of community organization and cooperation over irrigation, and will be seen in later chapters in the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Taipei to sell out their land and leave the village entirely. Such cases have even included joint families, where the whole family, including the old parents, have made the move.

Such increased out-migration of whole families has thus resulted from both the scarcity of available land and the apparently adverse effect of the Land Reform Program on the possibility of acquiring land for purchase or especially for rent. Just as many landlords now realize that the accumulation of land is no longer a safe capital investment, many villagers, who in the past sought social mobility through increased landholdings, now see this avenue as relatively limited. Increasingly, they now look to other nonagriculturally-based sources of livelihood and social mobility.

It appears then that much of the villager's traditional sentiment for his land and, to a lesser extent, his ancestral home not infrequently takes second place if there is a surer way of earning a livelihood and accumulating status and wealth. Again, as we have seen, even landlords who traditionally had the greatest sentiment and attachment for family and ancestral home have now in many instances been selling off their remaining landholdings as more secure and lucrative economic opportunities present themselves in the city.[5] This pattern is not perhaps so unusual; after all, many overseas Chinese in Southeast Asia as well as in Taiwan who left their homes on the mainland and made their fortunes abroad never returned to China but later had their families join them.

The families which prosper in Taipei undoubtedly prefer life there to what they had in the village, but there are still many villagers who work and live in Taipei only because they cannot manage to earn enough to support their families on the land. With very little land in the village, they have no capital to invest, and once in Taipei they must take whatever work is available. The people say that a villager who goes to Taipei as a coolie laborer, as most do, "usually goes as a water buffalo." Such men may very well prefer to stay on the land, but they have no alternative. Although they dislike working in Taipei as "beasts of burden," they frequently complain (along with the villagers who remain tied to the land) that a farmer's life is hard and bitter. "A farmer must go to the fields and work very hard even in rainy or windy weather. He must irrigate the fields if the crops need water, and sometimes pedal water all night to irrigate the fields. In addition, he must pay rice to the Farmers' Association [meaning the Provincial Food Bureau] for taxes and in exchange for fertilizer. In other words, the Farmers' Association takes the rice away from the farmers after they harvest their crops."

At the same time, the villager who remains on the land has dreams of "glory" for the next generation. He usually does not want his son to

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be a farmer like himself and "suffer on the land." He wants him to become a businessman or teacher for "although teachers and minor officials don't make much money, their work is easy." He wants his daughters to marry businessmen since "rather than having money only after the harvest, the businessman always has money coming in." Unfortunately, the farmer cannot always afford to educate his son beyond the primary grades. The family may not be able to afford middle school fees, or there may be a need for the boy's labor on the farm or for the income he can earn in some kind of menial work in Taipei. As for a daughter, in the traditional way of arranging marriages in rural society, often the best a father can do is marry her to the son of another poor farmer like himself. There is an old saying *"Men t'ang hu tuei,"* which means that a suitable marriage joins families of the same social standing. Thus, as the farmer sees it, his situation is a vicious circle: his socioeconomic condition itself bars any hope for improvement for himself or his children.

Yet, for most who remain in the village, there is a certain ambivalence in attitude. In spite of the statements just quoted, for many of them sentiment still runs high for life in the village and on the land. There is a certain amount of security on the land and in the village where life has meaning and regularity. There is a time for work and time for play, and the villager is somebody with a definite place in the scheme of things.

This sentiment is shared and actually more explicitly expressed by the group of families in the village earlier described as unable to reap an adequate living from their small landholdings. Of this group of perhaps no more than ten families, the adult male members had previously sought supplemental income in the city but were either unable or unwilling to adjust to city life. Some could not find secure jobs which would enable them to support their families there, and feared the effects, especially on their children, of the split household. Others had misgivings about exposing their families to the corrupting effects of urban life, even though it would have been financially feasible to move the whole family to the city.

It is the families of this group which have been influential in making the growing and marketing of vegetables as a cash crop an important part of village livelihood. They are willing to take the gamble still present in vegetable growing, since they see it as the only possible way of earning enough money on their insufficient landholding to enable them to remain in the village.

Thus, not only does out-migration of Hsin Hsing villagers to the city have direct consequences for village life but the attempt of several families to find ways for the whole family to remain in the village has its effects on the village as a whole. Some of these farmers are succes-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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178 167 829 369 ful, and their example influences other farmers in the area to change their form of land utilization in order to raise their standard of living. They have been an important internal influence toward acceptance of change in the village, just as the out-migrants, linking village and urban center, have been an important external influence toward change in village life.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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621 476 622 village organization, even the mayor may give only limited help or at best only go through the motions of organizing the entire village to act together.

621 476 571 618 An individual family, then, when faced with a crisis situation, can usually expect aid from its own *tsu* or smaller kinship group but not from the entire village. On the other hand, the comparatively smaller kin groups of the village frequently do not have the power of the larger village *tsu* to give effective aid to an individual faced with problems. Individuals in such small groups therefore tend to limit their involvement in the problems of others, and most such families suffer frequent anxiety and insecurity. In their attempt to ensure some support from the village when in trouble, they put an extremely high priority on the maintenance of good *kan-ch'ing* with everyone in the village. They are always extremely careful of what they say and do for fear of injuring their village relations. Although no kin relationship may exist, if one of these families should by chance have the same surname as one of the village *tsu* groups, it often attempts to identify itself with that *tsu* group and so derive some of the benefits of membership in it.

Small individual village families can frequently be observed ingratiating themselves with village *tsu* groups with the hope of maintaining good relations. They are also often known for their extreme courtesy with regard to relations with other villagers. The head of one such household confided to me in an interview that only by maintaining especially good *kan-ch'ing* with his fellow villagers could he expect their aid if he needed it. For this reason, he pointed out, he agrees to perform many annoying village tasks and generally goes out of his way to participate actively in village affairs in order to prove his family an asset to the village.

Within the structure of village relationships, the members of the larger *tsu* groups often show a fair degree of self-confidence—at least in their relations with the isolated families or even with families of small *tsu*. In any village discussions of problems, members of the larger *tsu* often suggest that the bothersome tasks be done by someone from one of the smaller or isolated family groups. The latter, usually after some mild objection, almost always acquiesce. But this feeling of confidence that the members of the larger *tsu* groups have is unquestionably limited to their relations with the organizationally weaker and poorer village families. In facing the outside world and the general problems of life, all the villagers suffer from insecurity and anxiety as a result of the village's limited sources of solidarity.

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628 612 This is why new relationships made outside the village through marriage with nonrelated families take on added importance. The villagers naturally value their *ch'in ch'i* relations and, to a much lesser

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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769 this one, they must be fed, cared for, and propitiated. "If these things are not done, the ancestors will be hungry and dissatisfied and in a sense themselves turn into negative spirits, known as Good Brothers (*hao hsiung-ti*). They then wander about causing trouble for any humans with whom they happen to come into contact."

797 769 177 178 The firm belief in the dangers of neglecting the ancestral spirits seems, in itself, to be an important contributing factor to the failure of Christianity to establish itself in the area. While there are no Christians in Hsin Hsing or in surrounding villages of the immediate area (which has prompted missionaries to label the area "the infidel strip"), certain residents express anxiety over the proximity of several Christians in villages not more than three miles away. They particularly fear danger from the Christians' ancestors. When people are converted to Christianity, they destroy their ancestral tablets and cease to worship and care for their ancestors. Naturally, these neglected ancestors are expected to wander around the area, causing trouble for anyone they come upon and stealing the food and other things people offer to their own ancestors. Since there are few pressures the community can exert to make these Christians continue their ancestor worship, they are a source of constant danger and apprehension to their neighbors.

They are also a source of bewilderment. Villagers find it difficult to understand why anyone would want to assume such an "uninteresting" and unfilial religion and consequently miss the great interest and excitement of the *pai-pai* and the thrills of shamanistic rituals. One village woman remarked that "It must be very dull to be a Christian: all they do is go to church and sing songs." In fact, this same woman advised me "to practice the religion of the people of America when you are in America, and to practice the religion of the people of Taiwan when you are in Taiwan. That is the only way to get fun out of life."

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769 597 Since the belief in the potential influence of ancestral spirits for good and evil is so strong, the relatives of a dead person who has left no descendants will often adopt a child to worship the deceased. An example of such a case was cited by a villager: "There were three brothers and one died before he could have any children. The second brother gave one of his own children to worship that dead brother, as a descendant worships an ancestor. This child then also inherited the brother's property. There are very few cases in this village or anywhere where a strange child is adopted for this purpose. Thus, after a person has died it is common to give the dead person a relative as an adopted child for the purpose of worship and inheritance." However, if a family lacks the forethought to adopt a child, they may find it necessary to do so at a later date. If they are unfortunate in their

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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creased as urbanization and mobility to and from the city have affected village life; the urban-based villagers less frequently find it necessary or particularly desirable to return home for these occasions.

This is far from indicating, however, that all religious and magical practice is on the wane. While the traditional significance attached to some rituals has lessened, that of others has remained the same, and some have even, perhaps, increased in popularity. For example, the large shamanistic (sometimes almost orgiastic) rituals, and certain religious calendrical rituals such as the village god's birthday *pai-pai*, that draw the active participation of virtually the entire village population show no signs of weakening. Their continued and possibly even increased popularity, in fact, seems to go hand in hand in hand with other changes in the society, including the growing influence of city life on the villagers. The same urban-dwelling villagers who can hardly be bothered to return for the more sedate New Year and ancestral-worship rituals continue to pay attention to these more dynamic rituals, as do villagers who have developed important urban ties by past residence or prolonged visits to the city. Perhaps these rites better satisfy the intensified need for excitement and entertainment stimulated by urban experiences.

But there are also other reasons for the continued importance of ritual activities in the life of the village. While the villagers are naturally unaware of the more subtle functions of ritual discussed earlier, they do recognize the part rituals can play in strengthening moral attitudes like filial piety and concepts like community cooperation. The *tao shih* priests, as we saw for example in Chapter 7, are quite open and willing at the least enquiry to tell people of the funeral ritual's multiple purposes, including those of reinforcing the moral system and relieving the anxiety which accompanies both life and death.

Other forms of religious and magical rituals serve to furnish a framework for unity and cooperation in village life whose economic and social bases have been deteriorating. The gradual breakdown of some traditional patterns, formerly based on village community life and socioeconomic necessity, has left an urgent need for some firm means to instill a sense of cohesion in the people who remain in a geographic unit. For this purpose even ancestor worship continues to play its integrative role at the family or *tsu* level.

Thus, with all the socioeconomic developments, despite some changes in form and emphasis, ritual generally is still a vital means of maintaining some semblance of communal life, even if these integrative ritual occasions are manifest only intermittently. It therefore seems reasonable to expect the performance of ritual to continue to have real importance in the lives of Hsin Hsing area villagers, although changes in emphasis are also likely to continue to occur.

2:Wolf E-5 (1958-1961) 1964 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Hsiachichou

CHAPTER 2

THE SETTING

101 The village of Hsiachichou is a small Hokkien community located near the market town of Hsulin on the southwestern edge of the Taipei 101 basin. Seventy years ago when the Keelung and Tamsui Rivers were the 133 only convenient avenues of transportation within the basin, Hsiachichou 178 487 was commonly described as being situated on the west bank of the Tamsui River two hours upstream from the city of Taipei. The village's location on the river was then one of its most important characteristics, a fact still reflected in the name Hsiachichou, "The Place Down on the 178 River." After 1923, however, the river began to lose its central place 487 in the life of the village, this being the year in which the Formosan 496 Development Company completed a rail line through the southern half [829] of the Taipei basin. At first many of the villagers refused to make use of the railroad, apparently afraid of becoming contaminated by coal dug in inauspicious locations, but the advantages of convenient transportation overcame their qualms. Where it had formerly taken hours of hard poling to make a round trip to Taipei, the railroad made it possible to travel to the city and back in little more than an hour and in relative comfort. The village of Hsiachichou is today thought of as being "fifteen minutes from the Hsulin Station" or "three stops down track from Taipei." So completely has the river lost its central place 823 715 in the life of the village that it is only in the seventh lunar month

975 that one hears it mentioned in conversations in the village. At this
823 time each year the hordes of "ghosts" imprisoned in the underworld are released for a month's holiday, and as a result parents feel it necessary to warn their children to stay away from the river. Their fear is that some hate-filled soul whose life was lost by drowning might attempt to obtain his own release from the underworld by seizing and drowning a child as a substitute.

975 Under the Japanese military administration which governed Taiwan from 1895 until 1903 the village of Hsiachichou was assigned to an administrative district with its headquarters in the town of Sanhsia. Later, after the military had been replaced by a civil administration Hsiachichou found itself a part of the Hsulin District with its district offices in the town of Hsulin. Forty years after this the return of a Chinese government brought about still another change in rural administration, and the village was designated a part of Panchiao Hsien with its administrative headquarters in the town of Panchiao.
175 Partly because of this history, and partly because of a traditionally
624 unresponsive attitude toward all forms of government, the political
[829] status of Hsiachichou has never been a significant aspect of the lives of village inhabitants. Instead, their orientation towards the outside world has always been in terms of the village's status as one of the five "areas" (lǐn) which make up the locally recognized district of Chichou. Although it has never been granted official status under any of the governments which have ruled Taiwan, the boundaries of Chichou are the boundaries which mark the line between the villagers' immediate

*583 591 for his wife's mother; and two of the children bear his wife's family's name. Despite this evidence, however, the marriage is not generally thought of in Hsiachichou as a matrilocal marriage, the primary reason being that Pe A-hong's husband has too much money. The attitude of [829] the villagers is that no man who was wealthy would marry into his wife's family, and this must be simply a case in which a man has let his wife's mother come to live with him and his family.

548 One of the two girls who became prostitutes when their marriages [546] failed was a young woman who had married matrilocally. When her husband deserted her after quarreling with her parents, she was forced 548 to work in order to support the family. The second case involved a *549 woman by the name of Lim Li-kui whose history is one of the most complex in our genealogies. Born into a family living in the market town of Panchiao, Lim Li-kui was adopted by an Ong family in Hsiachichou when she was three or four years old. Why the Ong family adopted her is not entirely clear. They already had female children of their [761] own, and they had adopted sîm-pûà for both of their sons. It is possible that the family had a third son who died in childhood, and that we missed him in collecting our genealogies because of their reluctance to discuss the death. At any rate, when Lim Li-kui was nine or ten years old the family decided that they had made a mistake in adopting the girl, and "sold" her to a Lim family living in the town of Chungli. This family adopted the girl to marry her to 548 their eldest son, but Lim Li-kui and the boy "didn't get along and so *593 she married out of the family." This marriage turned out to be no [592]

the aims of the creators. That certain types of functional analyses have been as successful as they have while ignoring this point is probably only because the analysts have been saved from their teleological assumptions by the analytic abilities of the peoples being studied.

If we are right in placing this restriction upon the forms of explanation acceptable in social anthropology, it follows that anthropologists should be particularly concerned to discover what the native knows about the functions of his own social system. The native analyst, like the foreign anthropologist, is fallible. He may perceive certain advantages accruing from any given arrangement, but he may miss other equally important disadvantages. The reader may have noticed just such an instance in our description of Hsiachichou. The villager sees the reduced tensions between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law as one of the major advantages of the sīm-pûà form of marriage, but he apparently does not see the dangers of this arrangement for the parent-child relationship. That many village men leave their parental homes for extended periods of time to live with a mistress the average villager is aware, but he does not think of this as a consequence of the sīm-pûà form of marriage, although our analysis indicates that this is much more common among men who marry sīm-pûà than in either of the other two forms of marriage. Why does the villager see the advantages and miss the disadvantages? Are some social consequences more visible than others? And if so, what is it that makes them more or less visible? We would argue that the answer to such questions as these are crucial to an understanding of the origins of social structure.

*121 M2 • 829 An equally important question is raised by the possibility that the native's appreciation of his own social system varies from one society to another. Unlike his counterpart among the lower classes of the West, the Chinese peasant is possessed of an exceptional degree of social sophistication. He can discuss at length the advantages and disadvantages of a variety of forms of marriage and adoption; he is quick to perceive the difference between ideal and actual social systems; and he is capable of calculating with precision the social consequences of any particular line of action. Is it not possible that many other peoples, the aborigines of Australia and Tierra Del Fuegos, for example, are much less sophisticated about their own social system? And if so, is it not then possible that they are less likely to see the advantages and disadvantages of certain types of social arrangements? If this should prove to be the case, explanation appropriate in one society might not be appropriate in another.

*121 182 If such variation does exist, another important task of the social anthropologist is to discover the conditions which give rise to this variation. Why should the Chinese peasant be particularly cognizant of his social environment? One possibility is that it is the result of [867] the opportunities with which he is presented as a child. Unlike the American child, whose parents make an effort to present a united front, the Chinese child has the opportunity to learn that the rules governing his behavior are conditional. His grandmother and grandfather may accept and even approve of behavior which his mother and father will not accept, and his parents will tolerate many abuses which his brothers

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

instead of turning to the dubious activities of the *lo mua*, they are violent only in defending the good name of their district and chastising in dark alleys any luckless mainland soldiers who force their attentions on "good" Taiwanese girls. Currently, their main activity seems to center on finding places to dance and people to dance with, an illegal activity during this period. Masa is much sought after as a dancing teacher and is reputed to be "the best." He is a romantically handsome boy with a surprising wave in his thick hair, but he does not look like a Lim. He has the charm, the temper, and the leadership potential typical of the rest of the Lims, but he is the only child of Lim Hue-lieng who has no physical resemblance to him. He has instead the short, square, powerful body of his mother, a rounder face and the broad Taiwanese nose.

I neglected to ask the family why he was known by a Japanese nickname, but regardless of the reason the name is appropriate. The image of Japan held by the younger people in the village is a composite of Japanese popular songs, colorful Japanese movies, and soft drink advertisements picturing pretty Japanese girls with friendly smiles. Masa is one of many village boys who cherish this image as an alternative to the life they know in Peihotien. As the men of his grandfather's generation chaffed under the restrictions of a Japanese colonial government and longed for the return of a Chinese administration that they could not remember, so the young men of today look upon a past they were too young to know, as a time of freedom and plenty. They read the second rate Japanese novels that are banned on Taiwan, and wear with excessive arrogance the humble Japanese *zori* that the Chinese government foolishly attempted to ban (and has since started manufacturing themselves). Nearly all of these young people have stop-gap jobs of one sort or another which bring them a little spending money but nothing that suggests a beginning in adult life. They simply wait, passing the time as pleasantly as they can. Masa and several others his age participate in the village band that marches in all religious processions, but the religion itself they scorn. Few Taiwanese take religion with the earnest seriousness that Westerners demand, but the young men of Masa's group (and that does not include all the young people of the village) laugh at the shamans, regard the priests in the temples as cynical men who have found a soft job, and ancestor worship as a tradition that must be carried on only for the pleasure it gives the old people in the family.

648 village homes were destroyed. Similar results obtained
579 in the other villages in Talei Li. This event was within the memory of older informants who were quite incensed about the destruction of innocents. On other occasions, there were no doubts that the villagers had cooperated with the bandits, supplied recruits, and benefited financially from their activities.

648 Soon after the above punitive expedition, a police
177 station was established in the village temple and it was
[625] periodically staffed for irregular periods until the late thirties with a detachment of two or three men. It was a branch of a more important and permanent station in Pouti which, in turn, was a branch of that in Hsin Tien (see Figure 1 for relative locations).

The destruction of village homes did not mark an auspicious beginning for the occupation. The Japanese
[778] employed other oppressive measures as well. As part of
[776] a Japanization process, they destroyed ancestral tablets and forced villagers to worship Japanese Shinto gods. It became necessary to learn Japanese in order to conduct business with the government. The policemen carried long
[446] sticks and beat transgressors on the spot. They also
[653] impressed village men into labor battalions for road and sanitation work. There was great resentment over corvee work at locations not in the immediate village area.
[823] Nevertheless, these activities did not destroy positive

sentiment towards the Japanese. Most villagers now claim a man was beaten only when it was deserved and labor work was shared equally except during the war when some men were conscripted into labor battalions and sent to other countries.

The Japanese ruled Taiwan somewhat after the pattern of the British in India, i.e., they worked through the local system and local officials.[5] Talei was divided into two parts, two separate pao as part of the pao chia system.[6] T'oulei and Erhlei were combined in one pao and the remaining three villages into another. All five were not reunited into a single administrative unit until after the Restoration. The two pao represented a cleavage along traditional factional lines. (Details of this factionalism are discussed more fully in Chapter IV.) The factions seemingly are based on a regional factor, one end of the li against the other, but there are also differences in ecological conditions and the respective value systems. T'oulei and Erhlei have less land and are more progressive. Although the five villages have always cooperated in maintenance of the li temple located in Erhlei and the li has but one school, the two factions are an uneasy combination. At present, each faction is represented in all administrative bodies, i.e., if the li chang (mayor) is from one faction, then the representative is

494 their families are permitted to ride. The narrow-gauge railroad was eliminated and coal is now hauled by trucks.
655 The government Wine and Tobacco Monopoly was establishing a branch tobacco processing factory half way between Talei
[464] Li and Hsin Tien just as we were leaving Taiwan. This was expected to open additional employment opportunities in the immediate area.

511 Sanlei village is now enjoying its greatest economic prosperity according to all objective indicators. Moreover, health care is better than ever before in history and the death rate is at its lowest point (see next section). Educational opportunities too have reached a
648 peak. Nevertheless, the period of the Japanese occupation
829 has been greatly romanticized. Men over 35 are proud of
[191] their ability to speak Japanese and a few long for the
[186] return of the Japanese. Middle-aged villagers argue that they have been ruled by "outsiders" for a long period of
648 time, first the Japanese and then the Mainlanders. More-
829 over, many agree that the Japanese did a better job for
511 they claim under Japanese control, prices were more stable, officials were more honest, and one did not fear robbers. One fifty-year old man in a group once said that when the Japanese were here, one day's labor paid for three day's basic living but that now it took two day's labor to pay for three day's basic living. The group all nodded in agreement. Since this statement failed to accord with the

511 other kinds of physical evidence, we contrasted the average
648 day's wage and the average cost of rice and pork under the
829 Japanese and under the current conditions and by computation proved that a day's labor now bought more pork or more rice than it had under the Japanese. The men felt that there was either something wrong with their memory of rates or prices or that our figuring now was incorrect. They knew they earned more under the Japanese in real income. It is plain that the facts and beliefs are not in accord. Probably adding to the romanticization of the period is the fact that the Japanese were few in number when compared with the Mainlanders. In a typical week for instance, only about a dozen or so Japanese appeared in Talei Li. Today, with the Communication Bureau, the school, the police, and various salesmen, several hundred Mainlanders may be observed in a single week.

171 Government propagandists, the schools, and the army
186 are all engaged in an attempt to overcome the antagonisms
648 on both sides. The incidence of inter-marriages between groups is increasing. The eventual goal of the government is a united Taiwan but success is not certain. Chinese history provides many examples of two culturally different groups, racially near identical, living side by side in the same area for hundreds of years while preserving distinct identities. For example, a minority group of Hakka have maintained and still maintain a separate ethnic and

162 Sanlei's population in 1966 was 409 which could be
[161] divided into 66 households. Talei Li's population was approximately 1550, divided into 248 households. Except for Szulei which is somewhat smaller, the five villages in Talei Li are nearly the same size. The distribution of the population in Sanlei village does not appear similar to the distribution presented above for all of Taiwan for Sanlei is essentially a Hokkien village. There are three Mainlanders, all retired soldiers, living in Sanlei; one is merely renting a village hut and the other two are adopted-in husbands. There is an aborigine woman (perhaps part aborigine), 45, married to a village man. None of these four have gained full acceptance.

[582] During our study, a village boy brought back a Hakka wife when he completed military service. She does not speak Taiwanese and is sure to have a difficult time if
[829] they remain in the village. The general appraisal of Hakka women is that they are domineering, hard workers, and sexually demanding.

162 Another man who is an adopted-in husband has a mixed
829 identity. He migrated from Fukien to Taiwan as a miner during the war between Japan and China. (The Japanese brought many Chinese miners to Taiwan to work in the mines as part of the war effort.) Although he was classified as a Mainlander by the Japanese, he is nearly accepted as a Taiwanese by the villagers. At least, in answer to the

162 question about how many Mainlanders are living in the area,
829 he is rarely cited.

186 The ethnic identity of the Taiwanese is very strong.
582 The villagers uniformly claim that the ethnic or sub-cultural distinctions cited above are very important. Marriage between such groups is considered very bad and undoubtedly a cause of problems. The barber in my village who was seeking a wife once asked if I knew of any eligible girls. Since I suggested an attractive conductress on the local bus, my quality rating as a matchmaker immediately dropped very low for the girl was a Hakka. Not only would marriage to a Hakka be against the dictates of common sense, it might be very bad for his business as he could easily lose many customers. The story of my suggestion was repeated several times, always causing amusement. It was interesting that it never proved necessary to specify the girl's ethnic identity. As soon as she was identified as the young bus conductress, everyone knew she was Hakka. I was often amazed at the ability of people to distinguish at a distance Mainlanders, Taiwanese, and Hakka.

162 The distribution of the village population by age and sex is indicated in Figure 3. This pyramid is a fairly normal example of a population with a high birth rate and a rapidly falling death rate with only one serious deviancy from what might be expected: the age bracket from 20 to 29

463 give legal advice but anyone can wash the car or cut the
171 grass. Not as well known perhaps are the restrictions on plumbing, electrical work, and the like. The force necessary to restrict such work to specialists in the United States largely depends on the law, police, and the courts. Although some of the enforcement of the division of labor in China is through the legal system as in the case of medicine, there is considerably less dependence on the government. Rather, there is a set of cultural values specifying which tasks are appropriate for experts
463 and which are not. The community members exert social
• 829 pressure on an individual who does a task customarily re-
626 served for a specialist. He is said to be "breaking someone's rice bowl" (see Glossary C). The statement illustrates a basic understanding of the total system. A man earns his rice[4] by exchanging an activity and if someone else performs that activity in his place, he will go hungry. If too many people did not hire specialists, the specialists could not purchase food, and the whole system would break down. This was about the manner that several village men were able to extend the meaning of the quoted phrase.

463 I learned the extent of social pressure on trans-
626 gressors the week we moved into the village. I nailed
123 some screening over five windows in our house and this shocked many villagers. Very politely, at least a dozen

562 easily earn more by working in the fields. In spite of
465 the fact that, on the average, the total amount earned between the age of 15 and marriage at 22 would be higher in the fields than in the factory, most girls prefer work in the factory.

562 Villagers view the phenomena of females working in
831 factories with mixed emotion. They like the cash the girl
829 earns and have even exerted some pressure to delay mar-
882 riage in order to retain the economic advantage. Yet,
[582] there are fears that the girls will learn improper behavior
[369] in the factory such as city ways and will surely have freer relationships with boys that may lead to sexual intercourse as demonstrated by a couple of girls who got pregnant and, for example, by the fact that the only single girls who
562 wear make-up, all work in the factories. There is also
581 recognition of the basic lack of opportunity for sufficient
829 socialization into the role of village wife. Is the former
882 factory girl going to adjust when she marries or more im-
562 portant, will she even want to? Tea farmers see that few
829 younger girls are being trained to replace the older fe-
882 males whose work is so important.

562 Finally, the family loses some control over a girl
882 who works in a factory because she can easily move to one
593 of the dormitories if her home life is unsatisfactory. Thus, some of her wages must be expended on her personal expenses and clothes as well as some saved for her dowry.

735 558 These practices are not obvious to the casual observer for much is done to preserve "face." Since anyone who begged would necessarily lose face, there must be an avoidance of either asking for items or of offering items in a manner which suggest the receiver has need of them. Clothes are given to someone for example, because they no longer fit. Someone announces in a group that some of his vegetables are going rotten in the field because there is no one available to pick them. However, careful watch is kept on those who help themselves and since everyone's financial condition is well known, few people other than the poor are permitted to take advantage of the situation. Those who benefit most from these customs are usually widows or old men who have never married.

511 621 In summary, there does not appear to be anyone in an extremely poor position economically in Sanlei village. Although some people are much better off than others, the differences in clothing, daily diet, and style of life are [648] not great and no one ever appears to go hungry. There is [829] some nostalgia for the period of the Japanese occupation when prices were said to be much lower but in fact, it appears that everyone is eating better and richer foods than ever before in history for although prices are high- [735] er, so is income. The system of pai pai with many invited [504] guests helps the poor to share the prosperity as does the reduction in the cost of goods and services, all leveling

648 majority of elected officials are not really responsible to their constituencies. Although Taiwan is the only territory still under Nationalist control, members representing Taiwan constitute less than three per cent of the Legislative Yuan.[1]

648 829 Even to this extent, the village does not really participate in national affairs nor do villagers desire to participate, for national government seems so distant that it is nearly beyond comprehension. While no one in the village thinks he could have any effect on national policy, villagers are directly affected by national government policies in many significant ways. Government policies have had tremendous direct economic effects in areas such as taxation, land reform, etc. There are indirect effects too such as the trade agreements negotiated with Morocco which greatly improved village tea business by opening a major new market. Government policies are increasing educational opportunities. The universal military draft, in addition to providing military and language training, has an indirect effect of delaying marriage for young men usually do not marry until after completing their military obligations. A few villagers read the national news and most hear some news on the radio or television although a radio station that broadcasts little news other than weather and farm prices is most popular.

branches of government are the directly elected Provincial Assembly and the Provincial Governor selected by the Executive Yuan and appointed by the President with an overall responsibility to carry out the national policies with particular attention to economic development. For the village, a situation not unlike the attitude described for the national level is evident. Villagers are not aware of most provincial decisions and do not really participate meaningfully in provincial politics although decisions at the provincial level also have direct and indirect effects on village life.

County Government

The province of Taiwan is divided into 16 counties and 5 cities, each with local self-government.[2] Sanlei village is a part of Taipei Hsien (country) which is headed by an elected magistrate. The last election for the country council members was in January of 1964 for a four-year term. Elections at this level do generate some interest in the village as demonstrated by the fact that nearly eighty per cent of the eligible voters participate although only about two thirds participate in provincial elections.

Suffrage is universal, equal, direct, and secret. Qualifications for voting include citizenship, age of 20 or over, and six months residence; qualifications for office are the same except the minimum age is 23. There is a federal law, applicable at every level of government

876 technical skills designed to make a living, but comprises the Renaissance idea of the "whole man," including moral behavior; attitudes towards fellow men, relatives, and country; public responsibility; and so forth (Suyin Han, 1966:97-8).

872 This is still an appropriate description of the local school curriculum. There is little emphasis on technical skills other than reading and writing as compared with the amount of time devoted to moral behavior and proper political ideology. Physical training--exercise and games--to develop the body are now included, particularly on Saturday mornings. The school has achieved some success in tag ball competition with other schools. The teams include both girls and boys for separation of sexes in school does not begin until the junior high level.

871 Interest in education is growing, now much stronger in the progressive li faction of Erhlei and T'oulei. The government is in process of implementing a plan for nine years of compulsory education and when it is promulgated, Talei Li children will attend in spite of the fact that villagers do not believe in the value of education for
• 829 most people. "When the government makes a decision one should smile and obey. To protest is as worthless as a mosquito biting a water buffalo's horn" (see Glossary C), was the statement of the old store owner, an important traditional leader, to a group of senior citizens when asked by one what should be done about the recent increase

829 in taxes. The phrase indicates the general attitude towards the government.

Social Control

121 591 626 This section deals with the formal agencies of social control, the police and courts, and the quasi-formal agencies, elders and mediators. However, much of the rest of this dissertation deals directly or indirectly with informal social control. Although an individual may gain much from his membership in a social organization, he always pays the price of an acceptance of limitations on the freedom to do as he pleases. Social control comes about in part because people are dependent on one another. Two sociologists (Broom and Selznick, 1968:17) once wrote, "The way men behave is largely determined by their relations with each other and by their memberships in groups."

As is clear from the description of Sanlei Ts'un presented so far, no man is socially isolated. According to Durkheim (1897--English Translation, 1951), if an individual is tightly bound into a highly integrated group with a strong sense of solidarity, he accepts the values and norms of the group as his own. This is perhaps an ideal type not to be found in reality, but Sanlei would approach this end of an ideal continuum. Most social control is achieved by informal means of one type or another.

829 The outside agencies of control are the police, courts, and army which are all regarded as legitimate by

829 villagers but to be avoided if possible. "When two men go to court, both always lose," (see Glossary C) is a 648 statement often repeated by villagers. Sanlei's usual direct contact with the police is through its own local policeman. Taiwan has a national police force organized like an army and divided into districts and branches. The closest branch office to Talei is in Pouti, a subdivision of a higher level unit in Hsin Tien. The policemen and their families, primarily Mainlanders, live next to the police station, usually spending several years at one place. The Japanese usually had transferred policemen every six months, a policy which did not permit the establishment of close relationships between policemen and villager which is now common in Taiwan. Villagers know the names of many different police officials in Pouti and a number are usually invited to large social or religious affairs in the village.

There is one policeman assigned full-time to Talei Li with a goal of crime prevention rather than detection and apprehension. To be effective, he must establish good relations with villagers. The previously assigned policeman, recently promoted, had been with the li many years and was both respected and popular. The new man, assigned during our stay, was having a difficult time although he was not really responsible for his difficulties for it is always hard to replace a popular man in any capacity.

For the two days preceding and the two days following the census, the transportation system for the entire island is overloaded with people traveling to and from their official residences and the place where they actually reside.

There are various reasons for the failure to register significant changes. Since an old cultural value maintains it is best not to bring yourself to the attention of government officials for any reason, registration acts are avoided because they necessitate contact with government officials. Another error derives from the prestige associated with the large extended family, ta chia ting. A family may actually have divided with one branch migrating to the city, but if the division is not officially registered, the family can maintain a pretense that the move is temporary and the family has not really divided. Conversely, there were two factors causing some families to divide on paper but not in fact in spite of the high values associated with the extended family. By dividing into smaller units, they hoped to retain land in the various land reform processes and further, hoped to obtain draft deferments. The confusion and misinformation which was rampant at the time of the various "Land Reform Laws" caused a final form of over-registration. Some small landlords who lived in the city or a town migrated to the village officially, on paper but not in fact, in order to

525 method of saving for it is difficult for anyone otherwise
575 to accumulate a large sum of cash at one time. Membership in a money-lending club necessarily means that at least once during its term a man will have a sizeable amount of cash in a lump sum.

Since it is necessary that each potential member be trustworthy, a club membership list indicates the general nature of relationships between people. Rarely does the participation in a single club extend beyond the confines of the li and usually is restricted to but one or two villages. Some villagers have attempted to form or join clubs without success because they are not considered [563] trustworthy. For example, a Mainland soldier in the village who is an adopted-in husband with four children needed money for the medical expenses of his wife's ailing parents. Other than a slight fondness for beer (15 bottles or so per month) he has turned almost all his money over to his wife to manage. Moreover, he is a steady worker and as a dynamiter in the mines earns $100.00 per day, considerably more than the average villager, but [829] he was unable to establish a club. As previously stated, Mainlanders are still regarded as outsiders who are not to be trusted. Other villagers have failed to establish clubs in the past and some are not even permitted to join clubs. Yet, many women are able to establish clubs and it 525 562 575 appears that women usually constitute about half the membership. In this regard, most village women obviously